"The tent itself is generally made of caribou skins obtained in spring, the hair of which is long and loose and consequently unfit for clothing; about fifteen are required for a single tent. It is generally erected with the hair side out, as Mr. Stefansson says, but the rule is not invariable. Usually it takes about three days to sew a tent after the skins are scraped, but if the woman is very industrious, she may finish it in two. In the spring of 1915 a woman finished a tent in two days, while her mother-in-law was nearly a week in making one but a little larger; the second woman, however, was sewing other things at the same time, besides doing most of the cooking for our party. Her tent was not as strong as she had hoped, for the spring skins soon rotted and began to tear in several places; so in the fall, when our hunting was very successful and we had plenty of serviceable skins, she put fifteen of them aside to make a new tent."

2: Stefansson--66 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 342, 281

"The tents in use in summer from Cape Bexley to the Kent Peninsula as seen near Bear Lake the summer of 1910 may be described as A-tents with bell ends. Commonly the tent of last year is during the winter cut up and used for some purpose, perhaps it has been fed to the dogs, or possibly it has been used for bedding. The tents of all but the most provident families are therefore in spring very small and unsatisfactory but each time a caribou is killed its skin goes to increase the size of the tent and by the latter part of summer everyone is suitably housed. The skins are always used with the hair side out whether they be sealskins or caribou skins. I have never seen musk-ox or bearskins used in summer. They are useful only in the transition stage while the snow walls are still in use and while the people are still able to haul their belongings in sleds. In the summer, when everything has to be carried on one's back, none but light skins can be conveniently used."

2: Stefansson--244 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
281, 117

"Skin Dressing. Sealskin is dressed in the ordinary Eskimo style: black for water boots and white (nelluak) for soles and ornamental work. The skins are dried on snow walls, perpendicular and facing south, being pegged on with small pegs. At Haneragmiut I saw skins being dried on the north side of these walls, not for want of room on the south side, for the wall that had skins on its north side had none on its south side. What the difference of result is I do not know. Their ugrug lines were cut about one-third of an inch wide which is the ordinary Eskimo width. All of us see them here for the first time white. They have been sun-dried and then most of the hair scraped off with a knife. The style west is to rot off the hair making the skin yellow."

2: Stefansson--248 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
281, 117

"May 25. Skin scrapers. They say they never had skin scrapers of copper or iron, but only horn and white and brown bear bones. We saw metal scrapers among the Akuliakattagmiut, but they may have learned the making of them indirectly from the Klinkenberg or Mogg ships' natives."

3: Rasmussen--106 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 281

"This contest as to who can get most [MPK: in the division of a bearded seal] is to blame for the circumstance that a man rarely gets the chance of cutting pieces for thongs, as there is no time to cut the skin out in rings; this is furthermore the explanation of why the thongs are often so badly cut. For they are often cut out of a flat piece of skin in a spiral, simply following the shape of the piece of skin instead of out of a ring of skin cut in one long strip, thus following the natural rounding of the body as ought to be done."

28: Jenness NDS Copper Eskimo NDS
237
281

/For additional information pertaining to use of skins in clothing manufacture, see also categories 291 and 294./

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

fingernail, so that the labour of manufacturing even a large vessel was comparatively slight, never requiring more than a few days. We saw no pots made of any other material, but from Prince Albert Sound we obtained two lamps, one fashioned from a red sandstone, the other from an igneous rock, that could hardly have been hollowed out with adzes in the ordinary way, but must have been shaped by some pecking and grinding process. Their owners knew nothing about their manufacture, and there is good reason to believe that they were not made by the Copper Eskimo, but came in from Hudson Bay.[1]

As stated in the introduction, the natives considered their amygdaloidal copper,[2] which took the place of stone, bone, or ivory in so many of their implements, as merely a peculiar stone that they could work into shape, cold, by hammering with boulders and pebbles (Figure 1). Whether they were able to drill copper before they obtained iron is uncertain; if so, they must have used stone- or copper-pointed drills. In our time they still retained one or two of these copper-pointed drills, but used them, so far as we observed, only on bone, antler, and wood.

Figure 2. Lamp of galena, used for marking skins. IV.D.388. 1/1.

The only important mineral besides copper was iron pyrites, which the Eskimo gathered mainly in the beds of two streams, Kugaluk River in the southwest of Victoria Island and a creek a few miles east of Coppermine River. There were other sources, however, that I failed to record. This mineral served the natives instead of flint and steel for striking fire. They possessed also a few fragments of galena (Figure 2) and litharge, which they used for marking skin and wood; the galena came mostly from Galena Point in Bathurst Inlet, but the source, or sources, of the litharge is not known.

BONE, ANTLER, HORN, IVORY

The caribou and the musk-ox supplied nearly all the bone that the Copper Eskimo required, although for shoeing the runners of their sleds they used rib bones from occasional whales that drifted up on their shores. There was hardly a bone in the two land animals that could not be turned to some purpose. Leg bones were in special demand for skin stretchers, for needle-cases, and for sheathing the wooden ends of harpoon shafts; another type of skin stretcher was fashioned from a caribou or musk-ox shoulder blade. The ribs served for handles of various kinds, for small toggles, pins, and bows for the drilling set. Other toggles were made from the breast or pelvic bones, and the astragalus provided a ready made mouthpiece for the drill.

The caribou alone provided antler, which was just as useful as bone, and interchangeable with that material for most purposes. On the other hand, ivory, which Eskimo elsewhere often substituted for bone and antler, was extremely rare, because neither the narwhal nor the walrus frequents the waters adjacent to the Copper Eskimo territory; consequently, the few ivory objects we saw among the natives almost certainly reached them by trade from the east or the west. Sheep likewise were absent, so that all the horn in use came from the musk-ox. This horn sometimes took the place of bone or antler, but it was especially prized for the manufacture of ladles, scoops, drinking horns, toggles for the sled, and hammers for pounding blubber.

Originally the Copper Eskimo used only four tools, all with copper blades, for shaping bone, antler, and horn, viz., the adze, the whittling knife, the grooving

[1] See p. 32.

[2] For the sources of this copper see Rep. Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, p. 32; vol. XII, pt. A, p. 18 et seq.

321 412 tool, and the drill. In our time nearly all these tools had steel or iron blades, and a fifth had been added, a small saw with a blade of hoop iron. Saws were not numerous, however, and it was still a common sight to see a native scoring deep cuts in bone or antler with his grooving tool and then breaking out sections with his adze. The curved whittling knife gave the final shape, and rubbing, first with stone or sand and then with a strip of hide, the smoothness and polish. Musk-ox horn alone was susceptible of a different treatment; to make from it ladles and scoops, the natives split it longitudinally, steamed it over their cooking pots, then opened it out and bent it to shape by simple pressure and hammering.

237 There was current among the Copper Eskimo one other substance similar to the foregoing, b'een, but it was rather scarce, and in the eastern part of the territory almost unknown. Whether it came from stranded whales, or was brought in from the west, I did not discover. The natives used it, apparently, 237 for fishing lines only, lines mainly for catching tomcod during the winter months 227 when the more usual lines of sinew tended to become brittle with encrusted ice. 283 I never saw them cut or split baleen, but doubtless they used the whittling knife for this purpose.

HIDES AND SINEW

237 [433] It is hard for the civilized inhabitant of a warmer country to realise the immense importance of skins in the domestic economy of the Copper Eskimo. They provide him with clothes and bedding throughout both winter and summer, bags in which to store his clothing, a tent for use nearly half the year when a snow-hut was either uncomfortable or impossible, a cover for his kayak, straps and lashings for his sled, harnesses and traces for the dogs, lines and lashings for harpoons and other weapons, packing lines, dog packs, water buckets, poke for meat and blubber, and other articles for which Europeans utilize cloth, rope, or metal. It was, consequently, of the utmost importance to the native that he should know how to treat skins to the best advantage. Fortunately, the two animals on which he depended most for his food, the seal and the caribou, were precisely the ones whose hides were the most useful.

281 [225] *Seal Skins.* The Copper Eskimo had two methods of skinning a seal. They generally made a cut around the base of each flipper, another around the neck, and a third down the belly, after which they separated the skin from the blubber with a knife. As it was impossible to remove all the blubber in this way, the skin was then soaked in warm water. Holding one end in her mouth while the [462] other remained in the pot, the woman (for the work almost invariably fell on [412] the housewife) scraped it thoroughly with her curved knife. As soon as the weather was warm enough she set it out to dry, sometimes on top of the house, sometimes on the ground, sometimes pegged over and around a block of snow.

A sealskin thus dried was roughly oval in shape and still retained the hair [415] on the outside. If you folded in the ends, doubled it over and tied a line to [472] each end, you had the common Copper Eskimo fishing bag; if you laced each end across through the holes by which it was pegged out, you had a dog pack, broad and flat in the middle where it rested on the animal's back, and bag-shaped at each end for holding the meat or clothing. The hair was no 281 disadvantage in such skins; indeed, for raincoats and for spring foot gear it 294 was indispensable, but as the skin was more supple without it, it was generally removed by resoaking in warm water and scraping with a knife. To soften the skin still more, and to change the outer surface from a dark colour to white, it was subjected to further scraping, and, after drying, rubbed between the hands and chewed between the teeth, when odd scraps that came away found lodging in the chewer's stomach. From these creamy white skins were made the sealskin

shoes worn by both sexes during the greater part of the year. Steeped in urine for several hours they became waterproof, and served for summer boots, water buckets, quivers, and other articles. 281 274

For lines and lashings (which the men made, not the women) it was not necessary to tan the skin; after the removal of the hair the man merely soaked it for a third time in warm water, and cut it in a continuous spiral with his curved whittling knife, while his wife or a friend held the severed parts taut and slightly apart. In cutting he simply pressed the knife, guiding it with his thumb from below, but wherever the strip was very narrow he generally sawed the blade up and down, holding the severed parts in his left hand and guiding the blade with the left index. Newly cut lines were stretched taut between two or more poles out of doors to dry. 281 283 [462]

The second method of skinning a seal was used only when the owner required a bag with a small opening for storing blubber. The woman then cut the skin around the base of the neck and from the bottom of one hind flipper across to the other. To separate the flesh from the skin—and as far as possible also the blubber—she circled the long snow-knife round between them from each end; then by drawing back the flippers and severing them at the joints with her curved knife, she could draw off the skin over the tail. Subsequently she cut away most of the adhering blubber and sewed up the bottom, leaving the neck open to be tied with a sealskin cord when the poke was filled. In most cases she sewed a strap handle to each end to facilitate handling, as these pokes when filled with blubber weighed from 150 to 200 pounds; if the poke was small, however, she substituted for the straps a short stick thrust through the neck. The Copper Eskimo never skinned an animal through the mouth after the manner of the western Eskimo, or closed their pokes with stoppers. 281 225 [412]

Although bearded seals were numerous in Dolphin and Union strait, the Eskimo secured very few; and they used for harpoon and sled lines most of the skins of those they did kill, though they were fully aware of the superiority of bearded over foetid sealskins for foot gear. Even their kayaks they covered with the skin of the much commoner foetid seal. Naturally, they treated both kinds of skin in the same way. [136] [501]

Caribou Skins. More important even than sealskins to the Copper Eskimo were the caribou skins from which he made his bedding and the greater part of his clothes, as well as dog harnesses, spring and summer tents, and many other articles that were absolutely indispensable. He skinned the caribou in a way slightly different from that of the ordinary white hunter or from that of the Indians to the south. Beginning at the throat, he cut right down the belly to the tail, then from the hock of each leg up the back as far as the knee, continuing up the inside of the thigh until he reached the incision along the belly. He next punched away the skin from the body down one side, drew out the tail and pulled the skin off down to the feet, where he cut it away at the level of the front of the hoof. Then he slit it down the side of the cheek through the eye and round the base of the horn, and punched it loose with the handle of the hunting knife. Rolling the animal over, he pulled out the skin from below, punched it free of the whole body, and stripped it off down the remaining two legs. A final cut down this cheek similar to the one on the other side, and a few more punches, completed the operation. Thus the skin of the head was removed in three sections that joined at the neck; but the middle strip ran from between the horns to the top of the nose only, as the Eskimo never troubled to remove the skin around the nostrils. Whenever the horns were in the velvet the hunter could jerk the skin over them; but with old bulls whose horns had many branches and roots almost meeting on the forehead, he was often satisfied to strip only the cheeks and leave the skin on the middle of the face untouched. Occasionally he slit from the nose down to midway between the horns, leaving 281 281 224

a large hole where these protruded through and two small holes that marked the eye sockets. The ears he usually cut off at the roots, and pulled them out of the skin with his teeth at his leisure; but in certain circumstances, when it was forbidden to use a knife, he pulled free the outer integument on the spot.

In the late spring, when the caribou was putting on a new coat, the winter hair remained longest on the throat and belly. As this part was useless for clothing, the hair being prone to shed, the Eskimo frequently preserved only the part on which the new coat had already formed and threw the rest of the skin away. In such cases the preliminary incisions for removing the skin followed the outlines of the short hair. Often, however, the native anticipated the natural shedding of the winter hair by pulling it out with his thumb and fingers, leaving the new coat very short and spotted with white hairs, but in this condition highly prized. Later in the season, when the belly of the animal was covered with short white hair, invaluable for trimming, he made a cut along each flank and removed that part of the skin before detaching the remainder.

Blood stains were extracted by rubbing or stamping the skin in hard snow, which acted like damp blotting paper; or by steeping it in cold water and squeezing the hair. The Copper Eskimo woman was very careful not to allow a green skin to dry before scraping away with her curved knife the fat that still adhered to it; and as these scrapings were pure fat, she generally ate them at once, or put them aside for future consumption. Then she stretched the skin out to dry by pegging it to the ground with sticks or weighting down the edges with stones; the white belly skin and the large short-haired skins intended for bedding she always pegged down in order to stretch them as much as possible. When travelling across country day after day in the short Arctic summer, the skin was laid over the back of the pack or across a long pole; and at every halt it was stretched out afresh on the ground to hasten the drying, because a green skin weighed twice as much as a dry one. Once the skin was dry it could be laid aside and not touched again until needed. Then the owner sewed up the rents and scraped the whole underside with the copper- (now iron-) bladed scraper (*See* p. 84). The woman (or man, for the men often scraped skins while the women sewed them) sat back on the sleeping platform, or on the ground outside the tent, and stretched out the skin in front of her. Holding it tightly pinioned at the bottom between her crossed legs, she pulled it taut above the knee with her left hand and scraped rapidly downwards away from her with the right. A sudden relaxation of the leg, and a quick jerk, found her scraping in a new place. To the onlooker her body seemed strained and her attitude very uncomfortable, but long practice greatly reduced the fatigue, though the labour really was hard. Indeed I have seen the perspiration rolling down a woman's face as she scraped a skin outdoors when the temperature was below zero Fahrenheit.

The Copper Eskimo woman often ate the scrapings that came away during this operation, although they contained very little fat. To soften the skin still further she rubbed tepid water over its under surface, folded it up, and laid it on one side for a few hours. Then she scraped it again, this time with an instrument made from the shoulder blade of a musk-ox, which merely stretched and softened the skin without removing anything from its surface (*See* p. 83).

The stretching and softening of the skin was usually the last process it underwent before it was made up into clothing. If, however, the woman desired the skin without fur, as for making the upper legs of her long boots, she scraped the hair from the dry skin with her curved knife. Copper Eskimo clothing was often decorated with red, black, or white bands; the white was the natural colour of the skin; the red was produced by rubbing with litharge; and the black parts were either untanned sealskin, or else seal or caribou skin stained with galena. Ordinary dirt stains on white deerskin could be removed with dry snow.

Caribou leg skins were made into dog harnesses, snow mittens, and winter boots. The ears were used to trim the fronts of trousers at the waist line, or the backs and hoods of coats. The light skins of unborn fawns, or of fawns only a few days old, made serviceable clothes for tiny children, as well as summer caps to protect the head from mosquitoes, though for this last purpose marmot skin was often used instead. There were certain fashions in clothing. The heavy winter outer coat (*qulitaq*) was normally made from autumn skins, an adult's coat from the skins of the larger caribou, and a child's coat from yearlings and fawns. The two everyday coats, the *ilupaq* or inner coat and the *kapitaq* or outer coat, were of very short-haired summer skins; so, also, were the trousers, though for winter sealing it was advisable to have the outer pair of the thicker autumn skin. The same principle applied to the rest of the clothing and to the bedding; wherever warmth was especially requisite, autumn skins were necessary; otherwise the Eskimo preferred the light summer skins.

The spring skins of caribou were thrown away except in emergencies, because they were full of holes from the creeping larvæ of the warble-fly, and the hair was shedding to make way for the summer coat.

Other Skins. Polar-bear skins provided very useful "sleds" in spring, when the frozen mud runners of the ordinary sled melted and dropped off. There seems to be an oil in the hair of the polar-bear skin that renders it impervious to water; hence Copper Eskimo travellers commonly used a mitten or pad of bear skin to ice their sled runners. For the same reason sealers preferred a foot-pad of bear skin to one of caribou skin, which sheds its hair with dampness. The natives of Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet sometimes used bear skin for clothing, more especially for trousers, because caribou were less plentiful in their districts than farther south. The animal was skinned in the same way as a caribou.

So few brown bears were killed that there was no established use for their skins. Musk-ox skins, on the other hand, were much sought after for bedding, being laid under the caribou skins on top of willow matting. The northern natives sometimes made heavy coats from them.

Hares, foxes, ermines, and marmots were all skinned in the same way. A cut was made up the back of each hind leg and across to the tail, and the skin pulled off forwards. The forelegs were drawn out and severed at the ankles, and the ears were pulled out with the teeth. The tail of the fox, owing to its exceptional length, was often slit half-way down. Hare skins were used only for towels or socks, but fox skins up to at least a generation ago were sometimes made into coats. One of the dance songs popular in 1915 among the Dolphin and Union Strait Eskimo commemorated its use in this way.

The ermine was prized very highly as an ornamental appendage to the coat; consequently, the sight of one of these animals always occasioned the greatest uproar and excitement in a camp.

Of more value to the Copper Eskimo than all the other small animals was the marmot; from its skin they made coats, trousers, caps, trimmings for the tops of snow mittens and boots, and linings for the soles of caribou skin socks. From the same skin, also, they made tool bags and pouches for holding the fire apparatus. As a rule, however, marmot skin coats and trousers were confined to children, because their use by men suggested a lack of skill in caribou hunting. The natives of Victoria Island obtained their marmot skins by barter, as the animal does not extend beyond the mainland.

The Copper Eskimo killed very few wolves or wolverines until they obtained rifles and traps. We saw one man wearing a heavy coat of white wolf skins, and wolverine skins were probably put to similar use; at all events the natives readily made a sleeping bag from wolverine skins for a member of our expedition. They skinned birds in exactly the same way as small animals, except that

CHAPTER II

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Excluding the outer shoes, which were made of sealskin, it required no less than seven caribou hides to furnish the adult Copper Eskimo with one complete suit of clothing for winter travel; and every man really needed two suits, besides a raincoat and special footgear for the spring and summer months. In winter his costume comprised two frocks or coats (*atigi*) worn one inside the other, the fur of the outer on the outside, and the fur of the inner against his body; an overcoat (*qulitaq*), whenever the weather demanded it; two pairs of breeks (*qaqlik*), worn in the same way as the coats; two pairs of stockings worn similarly, and reaching to just below the knees (inner pair *alektik*, outer *mitqulik*); a pair of caribou fur slippers (*ilupeqquk*) between the stockings; and low sealskin shoes (*tuktukaluk*) as a final covering for the feet. A pair of mittens completed the outfit. The overcoat, unlike the outer garments, which were fashioned from summer skins, was made from the heavy winter coat of the caribou, and generally required two full skins for its manufacture. Of the two ordinary coats or *atigi*, the outer (*kapitaq*) also required the greater part of two skins because of its ornamental pattern, but the inner coat (*ilupaq*) could usually be made from one hide. Two more hides, with the fragments left over from the coats, generally sufficed for the breeks, footgear, and mittens. Caps were fairly common, but, apart from the ceremonial dancing cap, were worn mainly by children, as the ordinary coat nearly always carried a hood that could be drawn up over the head.

MEN'S CLOTHING

Coats. Except that they were closed down the front and provided with a hood to cover the head, men's outer and inner coats resembled in most cases the formal evening dress of Europeans; for in front they were cut away at the waist, and behind they trailed a tail that extended anywhere from below the knees to the ankles. Outer and inner garments alike were normally fashioned from caribou furs, the outer always, and the inner usually, from light summer skins. The outer alone was decorated with special insertions, and it, therefore, differed considerably in make-up from the inner coat, although Eskimo seamstresses did not adhere in either garment to one unchanging pattern, but varied the numbers and positions of their seams according to the shapes and sizes of the skins at their command. The sleeves of both garments were always a separate addition, not put together in any set way but pieced from fragments of skins. In inner coats all the back and the greater part of the hood were generally cut out from one piece of skin; the shoulders, front, and sides were either from one skin section also, or else from two joined together in a straight line from chin to waist. In outer coats, if we omit the decorative insertions, one piece gave the long tail and nearly all the middle of the back, a second the sides of the back and such of the front as was not filled by insertions; two small oblong pieces then filled the gaps, if any, under the arms, and a fifth piece, which carried with

291 it a narrow appendage running half-way down the middle of the back, gave the
294 hood, except for a wide border around the face. Figures 3 and 4 show how the
• 281 patterns of the two coats differed.

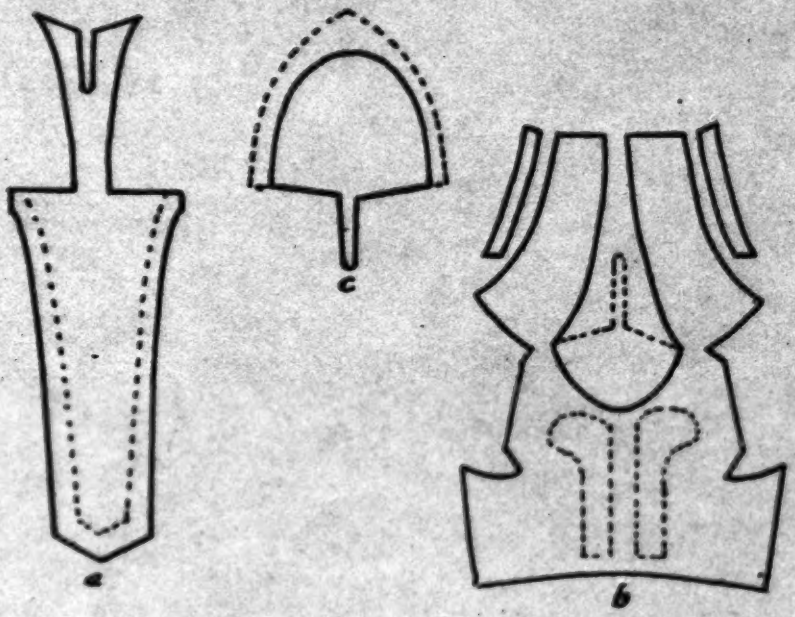

Figure 3. Pattern of man's outer coat; *a*: back; *b*: front and sides; *c*: hood.

294 [281] There were naturally certain rules governing the cutting of skins for the outer coat, but I failed to record them. Fashion decreed that between the shoulder blades should glisten a spot of white fur, preferably the tip of the caribou's tail; hence many women used the fur on the animal's rump and tail for the hood and for its narrow appendage down the back. Other women merely sewed to the end of this appendage a little splash of white fur from the animal's belly, which produced exactly the same effect. A second very common fashion was to adorn the hood with the two upstanding ears of the caribou; so many women made this part of the garment from the fur on the head and neck. Other women used the head and neck fur on the back of the coat so that the ears fell between the shoulder blades. The shoulders were always proportionately larger than in European coats, in order that the arms might be easily withdrawn from the sleeves; and around the margin of each garment, on the inside, was sewn a narrow band of dehaired skin, white or red, to prevent the edges from curling. It was customary to peak the hood of the coat, and this peaking, with the two upstanding ears and the long tail trailing between the legs, gave a stooping Eskimo so close a likeness to a caribou that it sometimes deceived his dogs hauling on the sled behind him and spurred them on to greater effort.

together again. Heel crimping was naturally confined almost entirely to the more decorative shoes. When not crimped, this type usually had one seam up the middle of the heel, whereas the plainer type frequently had two and even three.

A casing of sealskin (more rarely, caribou skin), undressed, and sometimes not even dehaired, was sewn round the top of the shoe to hold a cord of plaited sinew (*singiq*) that emerged through two holes at the back and tied in a bow over the instep. Two large patches of sealskin, dehaired but undressed, covered the whole or almost the whole of the sole, giving it double thickness; and whenever a hole wore in either patch, another was promptly superimposed on it. These patches had to be sewn on with concealed stitches that caught only the under surface, because the thread would quickly fray and break if it penetrated to the outside. Natives who anticipated considerable walking on glare ice or very hard, firmly packed snow sometimes added also narrow, meandering patches —"creepers"—to give them securer foothold (Figure 10c).

In the autumn of 1915, when the party with which I was travelling was still hunting inland, an Eskimo induced his wife to make him a pair of caribou-fur overshoes and to reinforce them with extra soles of sealskin. From another native I obtained a similar pair of caribou-fur overshoes that bore outer soles of dehaired caribou skin, and, over the outer soles, patches of sealskin. These were probably copied from the shoes of the inland Eskimo to the southeast, where they were invariably made from caribou fur, as the Copper Eskimo well knew. Around Coronation Gulf they were regarded with disfavour for ordinary use, because, although warmer, they readily soaked up the damp from the half-thawing floor of the snow-hut and immediately shed their fur. They were more practicable among the inland Eskimo, whose snow-huts were not so warm, because, lacking seal oil, they burned caribou fat in their lamps, which served in the main for lighting only.

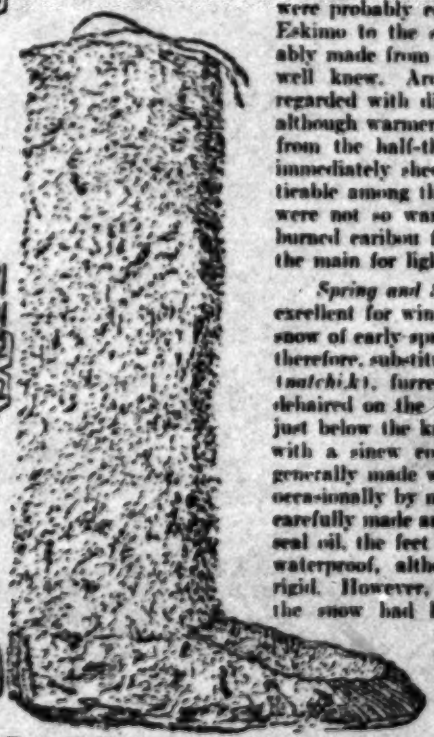

Figure 11. Man's spring boot. IV.D.1020. 1/4.

Spring and Summer Boots. Sealskin shoes were excellent for winter wear, but against the soft deep snow of early spring quite inadequate. The Eskimo, therefore, substituted for them long boots of sealskin (*natchik*), furred on the outside of the legs but dehaired on the feet (Figure 11). They reached to just below the knees, and were there tightly bound with a sinew cord that passed through a casing, generally made with an extra band of sealskin, but occasionally by merely sewing down the edge. When carefully made and saturated from time to time with seal oil, the feet of these boots were soft but quite waterproof, although the uppers were somewhat rigid. However, toward the end of spring, when the snow had largely melted, the streams were running, and pools of water lay everywhere, the Eskimo changed to their real waterboots (*tiperautik*) (Figure 12), which were similar in shape, but dehaired throughout their entire

length.[1] They were tied, too, not around the top, but around the ankle, by means of a cord that threaded through two loops, one on the outside of the foot, the other on the inside.

Figure 12. Man's waterboot. IV.D.1228. 1/4.

In both types of boots the sole was commonly crimped up at heel and toe and sewn to an upper, V-shaped piece, exactly as in the better type of sealskin

[1] On the feet of women boots the hair was not scraped off, but clipped as closely as possible with scissors, thus preserving the full thickness of the skin.

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shoe. In boots, however, this V-shaped piece was never narrow, as in many shoes, but covered most of the upper surface of the foot. The leg was sewn on last; besides the seam where it joined the foot, it bore a vertical seam up the front. The loops for the cord were an integral part of every waterboot, being carefully stitched in when the sole was sewn to its V-shaped upper. Grass insoles, such as were worn in waterboots by more western natives, were not current among the Copper Eskimo, whose short socks of seal and caribou fur fulfilled the same purpose.

[824]

One saw occasionally a hybrid type of boot, which had the sealskin foot of a waterboot but a leg of caribou fur, usually, if not always, taken from an outer stocking that had worn out in the sole. Boots of this type, like the boots with legs of haired sealskin, functioned only in the early spring and late autumn; from the beginning of June until October waterboots prevailed at all times, except that the low sealskin shoes served as slippers around camp.

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Figure 13. Man's outer stockings. IV.D.778, 784. Approx. 1/3.

296 Boot soles, like the soles of shoes, were naturally reinforced with patches that demanded repair or replacement every 2 or 3 days when travelling over stony ground. As soon as the hunter returned to camp each evening his wife turned his boots inside out to dry, and, if necessary, soaked in a pot of urine enough sealskin to patch them in the early morning. Hide from the bearded seal lasted three or four times as long as hide from the foetid seal, but the Eskimo seldom possessed enough of the material.

I have never seen a specimen, but a native of that region told me that the skin was split down the middle of the back so that the long wing feathers would fall over the dancer's shoulders. The bill, after careful cleansing, was whitened with gypsum, and, whenever possible, one of the valuable blue beads that reached this area from Siberia was tied to the nostril of the upstanding bill. The dancer also planted a long wing feather on the front of his head, and one on each side. Only the skin of a yellow-billed loon (*Gavia stellata*) was acceptable for such a head-dress; any other skin would have excited ridicule.

Mittens. The ordinary mittens (*poolluk*) were very short, covering the hands but leaving so much of the wrists bare that, unless protected by long coat sleeves, they were often severely frost-bitten. Adults seemed very indifferent to this defect, though they sometimes finished off the edges with long-haired fringes of white fur that afforded some slight protection; but mothers often lengthened the mittens of their children.

Most of the mittens were single, with fur on the outside only, where it covered the whole surface (Figure 23*a*). A few were made double to carry fur on both sides (Figure 23*b*); others had fur all over the outside, except on the palm, where it was inside (Figure 23*c*); and a type that usually bore two or three ornamental bands of white fur around the wrist, or across the back of it, had no fur at all on the palm, inside or outside (Figure 23*d*). The last type was much in vogue for dances because it furnished a better grip on the heavy drum-handle, but whether it developed on this account is not known.

Most short mittens were made from the brown summer skins of the caribou, but some were also made from the heavier white winter skins. Naturally only those made from the brown summer skins carried the insertions of white fur. One occasionally saw mittens of polar bear skin or sealskin, which were stiffer and (the sealskin ones at least) not so warm as caribou-fur mittens, but, unlike the latter, did not shed their fur with dampness. They were particularly serviceable, therefore, for such tasks as icing the sled runners.

If we leave out of consideration the white insertions just mentioned, every mitten was cut out in three pieces. One piece gave the palm and half the thumb; a second, the front of the wrist and the back of the thumb; and the third formed the whole back of the mitten. The general pattern can be seen in Figure 24.

Besides his short, everyday mittens each man owned a pair of long ones (*atqatik*) for working with snow, and especially for building the snow-hut (Figure 25). It was made, preferably, from the leg skins of the caribou, on which the long hair lies smooth and flat; and it covered the sleeve of the coat to about the middle of the forearm, where a sinew drawstring that passed through a narrow band of dehaired skin, doubled back and sewn all round the upper edge, checked the penetration of the snow. Being solely a working mitten (whence it commonly received another name, *sevaktotik*, i.e., "working garment") it carried no ornamentation and was furred on the outside only. Like the shorter mittens, it was cut out in three pieces.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF COPPER ESKIMO CLOTHING

291 [296] Some of the disadvantages of Copper Eskimo clothing have been mentioned already. The caribou fur shed its hair with dampness, and the shoes and boots soled with the skin of the common seal quickly wore out on stony ground and required almost daily patching during the summer months. The swarming mosquitoes of midsummer frequently assailed the only half-covered knees and wrists; the high-waisted coat hardly checked the winter gales from chilling the stomach; and the rather scanty hood could not shield the forehead and cheeks from frostbite. Despite these defects the costume of the men was extraordinarily well adapted to the climatic conditions, and capable of very little improvement with the meagre resources at their command. It was both lighter and warmer than woollen clothing of proportionate bulk, and at the same time much healthier, because it allowed the air to circulate freely under the trousers and coat. The four-layered footgear was eminently practical, being much easier to dry over a blubber-burning lamp than the thick-furred two-layered footgear, fitting tightly around the legs of long breeches, which has long been fashionable among the Eskimo of the Mackenzie River delta and northern Alaska. The women's costume, however, was much less satisfactory. The wide shoulders and enormous hood were wholly unnecessary, and the latter both heavy and cumbersome. Worse still were the ridiculous stockings, which hardly protected the legs even in mild weather, and in blizzards frequently filled with snow. More than one woman had lost her toes by wearing them, and many had incurred severe frostbites.

296 The Copper Eskimo took great care of their clothing, as was only natural, seeing that skins were never too plentiful and the labour of dressing them, cutting them out, and sewing them together was considerable. The first thought of every native on entering a snow-hut was to beat the loose snow from his clothing with the stick that each household provided for that purpose. Spare clothes were packed away in large seal- or caribou-hide bags, which were stored in winter either in a cavity under the sleeping platform or on the roof of the snow-hut beyond reach of the dogs; in summer they were deposited on high caches under other possessions, or buried beneath mounds of stones. Strips of [294] white fur from the belly of the caribou received special attention on account of [281] their value for insertions, and the women carefully cleansed them of all dirt and blood-stains with soft snow.

ADORNMENT

301 [237] *Ornaments and Charms Attached to Clothing.* Men's coats often trailed on the back white lemming skins, arranged with the usual regard for symmetry. There were generally three skins, one attached to the back of each shoulder and the third spaced half-way between them at a somewhat lower level (*See Figure 36*); rarely there were five, arranged in the same fashion, but, of course, closer together, and forming a slightly curved line parallel with the lines at the neck and waist. A native who owned only one lemming skin generally sewed it midway between the shoulders, but at times suspended it from a button in the small of the back. This button, made of bone, musk-ox horn, or, rarely, the boiled albumen of a bird's egg (*Figure 37*), appeared quite frequently on the everyday outer coat, and was an integral part of the heavy winter coat used in sealing, where it served to attach both the hunter's foot-pad of polar bear or caribou fur and the bone pins with which he closed the wounds in his seals. Men seldom affected other ornaments, but one Prince Albert Sound Eskimo wore a bandolier of musk-ox fur, and another a bandolier of polar-bear claws suspended from a strap of caribou hide (*Figure 38*).

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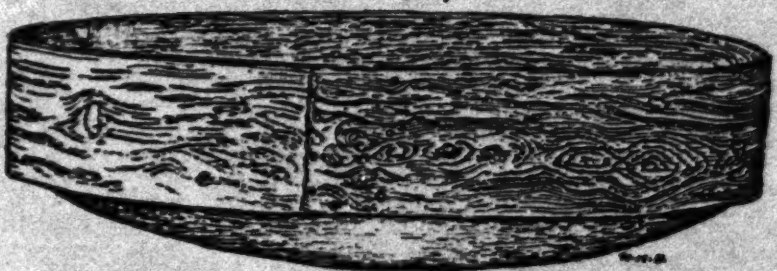

Figure 72. Oval dish, made from two pieces of wood. IV.D.823. Approx. 1/4.

Figure 73. Dish hollowed from one piece of wood. IV.D.826. 1/4.

WATER BUCKETS

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The bucket for carrying water (Figure 74) was made from tanned sealskin, and fitted with a strap handle of the same material. Its usual capacity was slightly over a gallon. The vessel lasted much longer than might have been expected, because holes and small rents could be quickly patched without impairing its tightness. As with our canvas buckets, ice that formed on the inside was broken loose by hammering on the outside with a stick.

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When travelling in winter, a few Eskimos carried on the back, under the clothing, a cylindrical water bottle (Figure 75) made from the gullet of a seal. The stopper was a wooden plug lashed inside the mouth of the bottle. Similar "thermos" bottles were known in the eastern Arctic also.

Figure 74. Water bucket, of sealskin. IV.D.818. 1/4.

MEAT FORKS

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Meat forks, used for testing and removing the meat from the pot, but not for eating, were made of bone or musk-ox horn, more rarely of antler. Most were slender, tapering pencils, slightly curved, ranging in length from about 7

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SNOW DUSTER

The snow duster, used for beating the snow from the clothes immediately before or after entering the snow-hut (and also for driving out the dogs), was merely a stick 2 feet or less in length, slightly curved, and carefully smoothed so that it would not tear the clothes, but not ornamented in any way. A typical specimen is shown in Figure 80.

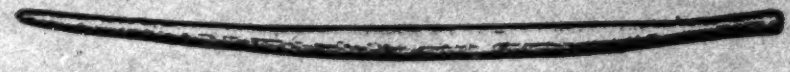

Figure 80. Snow duster. IV.D.1818. Approx. 1/8.

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BAGS FOR CLOTHING

The Eskimo kept their spare clothing in round or oval bags made of sealskin or caribou hide (Figure 81a). Caribou leg skins with the fur retained were preferred for the sides, and dressed sealskin for the bottom; but housewives used any material that lay to hand. Some of the round bags, which averaged about

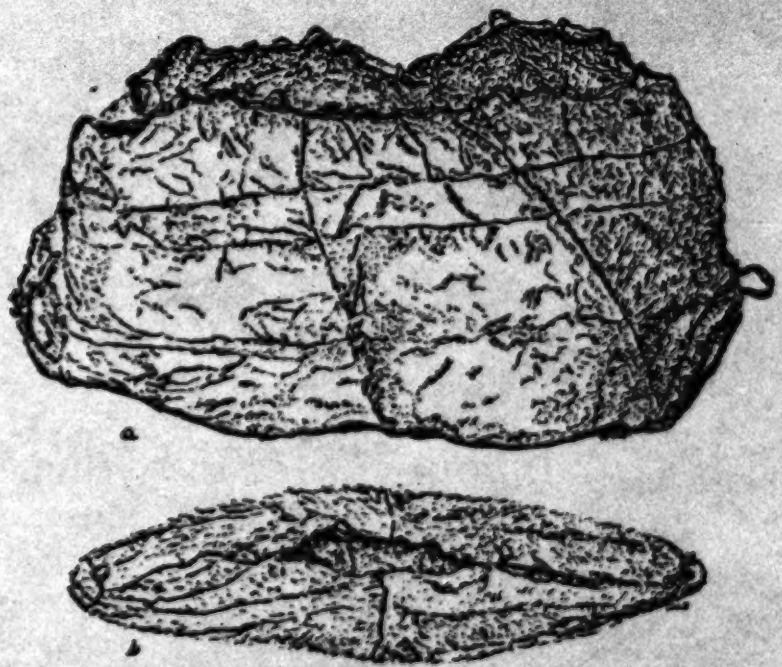

Figure 81. Bags for clothing. a: IV.D.80; b: IV.D.921. Approx. 1/8.

3 feet in diameter, laced across the top; others were tied with strips of skin extending from opposite sides, and fitted with strap handles of skin or plaited sinew to facilitate handling. The oval bag (Figure 81b) somewhat resembled

the men's tool bag, but was much larger and opened in the middle instead of at one end. Some women preferred this shape for storing the narrow white belly skins with which they decorated their garments, but it was far less common than the deeper rounded type. 296 28 415

In summer these bags of spare clothing were cached on top of high rocks out of reach of foxes. Rain occurred so rarely that their exposure to the weather brought little harm. In winter they were stored in a cupboard-like hole under the bed, or on the retaining wall outside the house. [253]

[illegible]

The willow mattress and bed skins have been described in Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, vol. XII, page 61. The sleeping bag was merely a long sack made from the heavy autumn skins of the caribou, unsewn or slit half-way down one side so that the occupant could crawl into it more easily. Husband and wife slept in one large bag; each child had a bag of its own. 513 [281]

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meat; the smaller ones, which had a special name qimalik, for cutting and trimming skins. In shape, they were practically identical, except that the smaller tool often had a more rounded edge than the tool used for cutting meat.

Women's knives, like men's, often had sharpeners attached to them by a cord of sinew. The earlier sharpener was the tooth of some animal, often the molar tooth of a musk-ox or bear; or a whetstone made from sandstone or other gritty rock; or a stick of copper mounted in a bone or antler handle (Figure 86). By 1914, nearly every native was using a fragment from a file, or the firing pin of an old rifle. Men generally used their sharpeners as a butcher uses his steel, but the women held the steel in the left hand and ran the edge of the blade to and fro along its surface.

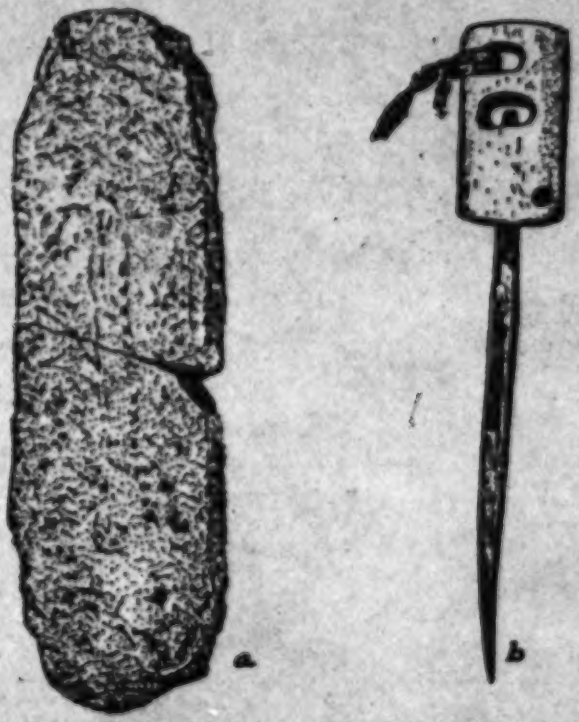

Figure 86. a: whetstone, IV.D.77; b: copper knife sharpener, IV.D.1281. 1/1.

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Skin Scrapers. The scraper used to remove the fat and inner tissue of skins had a small copper blade with a curved edge mounted on a long handle of antler. Today, in this as in other implements, iron has taken the place of copper. The handle was nearly always forked, the branch-prong preventing the hand from sliding forward. Most specimens had also a notch for the forefinger cut in the under side. Figure 87c shows a typical specimen; its iron blade is fastened by two copper rivets to the handle, which has been flattened on its lower face. Its prototype with a copper blade is shown in Figure 88.

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412 *Needles.* The Copper Eskimo seemed to have no recollection of bone sewing needles, but only of needles made from their native copper. They inserted them into a narrow strip of sealskin, or more rarely caribou skin, and drew them inside the needle-case for protection.

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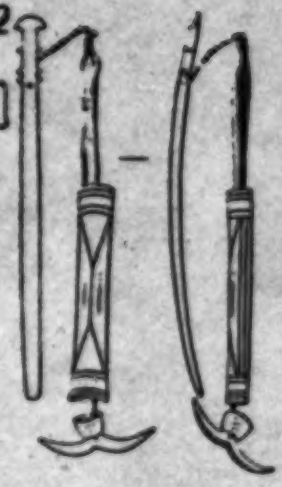

Figure 96. Needle-case and attachments, front and side view. IV.D.151. 1/2.

Figure 97. Needle-case and attachments. IV.D.226. 1/6.

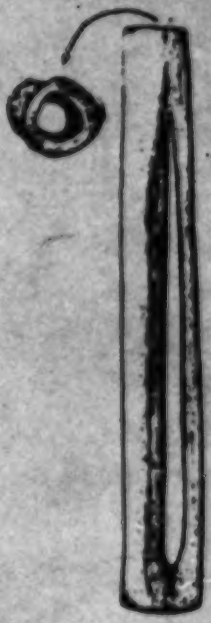

Figure 98. Hunter's needle-case, from bird bone. IV.D.307. 1/1.

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412 Copper needles had practically disappeared when we visited the country, although a considerable number were made for sale. The few genuine specimens that I have seen were nearly square in section, from 2½ to 4 inches long, and with eyes drilled from both sides (Figure 96).[1] Iron needles, hammered out in the same manner as the copper ones, were still in common use, but as most of them were too large to enter the needle-case, they were kept by their owners in a separate strip of sealskin or in a bunch of matted moss roots.

412 *Thimbles.* There were two kinds of thimbles. One was simply a cap of sealskin to cover the tip of the finger (*See* Figure 93a); when not in use it was often attached by a short thread to the sealskin that contained the needles. The other and more usual kind was made from a small bone in the foot of the caribou, or sometimes from the horn of the musk-ox. In nearly all cases the upper end was open like a ring, because only the side of the thimble was used, not the top. One variety was equally broad all around, and had tiny holes pitted over all or part of the outer surface; another variety resembled a signet ring, except that the broad surface was worn in front, not behind, and that face

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[1] The copper needles collected in Coronation Gulf by Hanbury in 1903, now in the British Museum, are square, as are also some iron needles that were collected by Rae in Boothia Bay 60 years earlier.

Cutting-out Boards. There was no special shape to the board (qeorvik) used for cutting and trimming skins, provided only that it was small and flat. The women often carried a board about 6 inches long in their sewing bags. 412 281 [192]

Boot Creaser. A special implement, *tiguyaun*, "a tool to grasp", usually just a flattened stick of bone with a dull edge, was used occasionally to crease the toes of the white sealskin shoes. Most women, however, used the nail of the right thumb, and bestowed on it the magnificent name *kamitikshararluk*, "my shoe-making tool". 412 [192]

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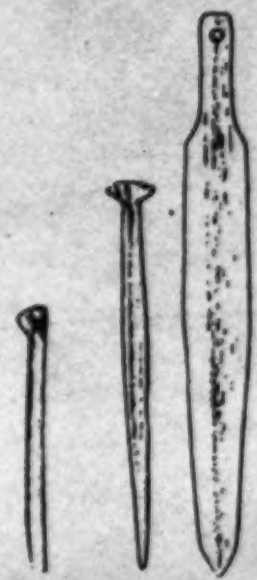

Figure 103. Threading needles. IV.D.[illegible], 131. 1/1.

Figure 104. Scissors, with blades of hoop iron. IV.D.1612. 4/3.

Marrow Spatulæ. Spatulæ for removing the marrow from the leg bones of the caribou and musk-ox were attached, as a rule, to the needle-case, or carried by hunters in the bags of their bow-cases. They varied greatly in shape, some showing a resemblance to meat skewers, others to marline-spikes; but they were less massive than the marline-spikes, and their flat, blunt points generally distinguished them from meat skewers. Nearly all were of bone, generally a caribou leg bone, but occasional specimens were of antler or even horn. The handle, drilled with a small hole when attached to the needle-case, was frequently carved into a small oval butt like the butt of the snow knife; or it was notched or serrated. There was rarely any etching of the surface, probably because the implement was too small. 412 321

A small assortment of spatulæ is shown in Figure 102. Specimen *f* in that figure is a very unusual form that would hardly have been identified as a spatula had I not seen it in actual use; it was attached to the needle-case of a

412 321 young girl. The specimens attached to the needle-case in Figure 93 are considerably shorter than the average. The commonest type was perhaps that shown in Figure 95, where it is also attached to its needle-case.

412 321 281 *Threading Needles.* Small bone needles were employed for threading a cord through holes in skin, especially for fastening together the front of a tent above the door. In form some of these needles were practically identical with many pins used for closing the blood bag, though the latter were usually longer and terminated in a greater variety of forms. Two threading needles are shown in Figure 103.

412 179 [439] *Scissors.* Probably as early as the middle of the nineteenth century the idea of using scissors for cutting the hair of the head came to the Copper Eskimo from Hudson Bay natives, who acquired European scissors in trade with the Hudson's Bay Company and with whalers. Copper Eskimo specimens of fairly recent date had tin blades mounted with copper rivets on bone or antler. The best example I have seen is illustrated in Figure 104.

412 [321]

Figure 102. Bone awl. IV.D.1778. 1/1.

[281] *Awls.* To punch holes in skin the Copper Eskimo used any pointed tool that was handy, e.g., the corner of the woman's knife, an arrowhead, a sealing skewer, or, occasionally, a mere splinter of bone. Specially made awls were extremely rare, but a bone one from Cambridge Bay is illustrated in Figure 105.

MEN'S TOOLS

415 412 [224] Attached to the hunter's bow-case was a special tool bag to hold spare parts for the bow and arrows, meat skewers, and other implements connected with the chase. This bag naturally became the repository at times of other tools, such as the adze, that were not directly connected with hunting. However, most men

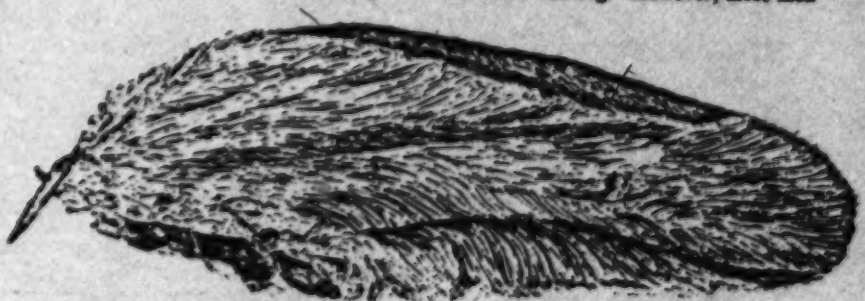

Figure 103. Man's tool bag of caribou fur. IV.D.729. 1/3.

owned a second small tool bag of caribou or other fur (Figure 106), and two or three had wooden boxes put together with iron or copper nails. Tools like the snow sounder and the ice chisel that were too long for any of these receptacles were generally stuck into the ground outside the tent, or into the wall of the snow-hut.

one needle, 8 inches long, the splinter was mounted in a wooden handle. The line was of sealskin, generally closed at the far end with a stick, bone, antler, or wood to prevent the fish from slipping off.

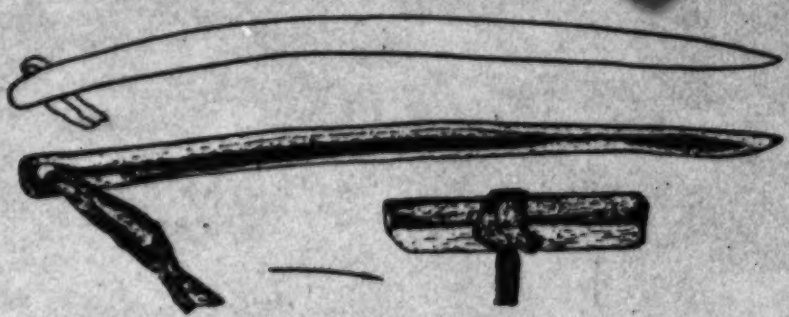

Figure 133. Bone needle for stringing fish. IV.D.681. Approx. 2/3.

Fish Bags. To pack their fish to camp the Eskimo used a bag of sealskin, commonly made by folding in the ends of a whole skin, doubling it over and tying a line to each end. The same bag, laced across, served as a dog-pack.

Fish Spears. Two varieties of fish spear were employed, the trident and the leister. The leister was preferred for spearing trout and salmon in lakes when they came to nibble at the lure, the trident for the migrating salmon that entered the weirs across streams; but generally a man used whichever weapon happened to be nearest at hand.

The shape of the leister is best seen from the illustration (Figure 134a). The handle was simply a long pole, split at the end to receive a barbed, occasionally barbless, point of antler, which was held in place with a lashing of sealskin, or more rarely of sinew. Two prongs facing each other, which sprang open on striking the fish, were invariably of copper or iron, copper, of course, being the original material; they were driven like nails into antler heads, which were bevelled off at the lower ends to fit corresponding ends on wooden extensions. Antler and wood were spliced with sealskin lashing, strengthened at times by bone or antler nails. The wooden extensions were then bevelled off in the same manner and lashed to the shaft, but not nailed, as low ridges at their tips prevented the lashings from slipping off. All these lashings quickly dried up from disuse, and the parts fell asunder except where they were held together by pegs. In a few leisters the side pieces were entirely of antler, not of antler and wood combined.

The trident (Figure 134b) resembled the leister, but had no prongs on the side pieces, which were made entirely of antler, pointed and barbed like the point in the middle. The number of barbs varied; in some cases they were directly opposite, in others staggered, both arrangements occurring at times on the same weapon.

Double-pointed spears were sometimes improvised for stabbing sculpins, or the small fish that hide under the stones on the margins of lakes. I have seen two sharpened pieces of bone, and even a European fork, lashed to the end of a walking-stick for this purpose. Naturally, they were dismantled again as soon as the need for them passed.

411 scarfed and spliced together with three copper rivets (Figure 156). Both were
324 deeply encrusted with lichens, and were evidently of considerable antiquity.
321 Probably they were made by ancestors of the present-day Copper Eskimo. On
172 the other hand, it is not at all impossible that they are arrow heads of the earlier "Thule"-culture inhabitants who have left other remains in the region. The use of copper rivets does not rule out this possibility, because copper-bladed women's knives with typical "Thule" handles have been recovered from an old stone house on Victoria Island and from a stone grave on the neighbouring Read Island, along with harpoon heads and other objects of typical Thule
[325] (North Alaskan) types. There are good grounds for believing, therefore, that
[174] the ancient Thule population itself used the local deposits of copper and passed on its knowledge to the ancestors of the present-day Copper Eskimo when the latter migrated into the area.[1]

411 In 1914 arrows with long antler points that fitted directly into the wooden
321 shafts were fairly common; some had no barbs, others one or more along one
325 side. Much more common, however, were arrows with separate blades of bone, copper, or iron that riveted into antler foreshafts, or were provided with long shanks that took the place of foreshafts. Points of bone were rare; about 65 per cent were of copper and the remainder of iron, hammered into the same shapes as the copper ones. These shapes, and also the methods of splicing the wooden shafts when made of two or more pieces, have been rather fully illustrated by Stefansson.[2] Individuals may have preferred one type of point to another for certain game, but so far as I could discover they used all types more or less indiscriminately.

411 The Copper Eskimo used the Mediterranean release, holding the bow
237 almost horizontal. They generally feathered their arrows with goose, loon, eider duck, or snowy owl quills, but did not disdain quills from other birds. Normally, two feathers only were used on each arrow, but occasionally three, for no special reason that I could discover. The hunter cut off on his trimming board all the barbs along one side of the feather, smoothed the rough quill with his knife, grooved the arrow shaft with the special tool for that purpose (or, if he lacked this tool, split it slightly with his knife), and lashed the two ends of the feather in the grooves with caribou sinew. This was the usual way of feathering. Occasionally, however, he merely trimmed the barbs a little on both sides and fastened the feather flat against the shaft. There was also a third method, in which two half feathers, i.e., feathers from which the barbs on one side had been removed, were lashed around the end of the shaft spirally, end to end, and the barbs spread fanwise. I saw a man feather an arrow for his young stepson in this way and was told that it was a rare method, never employed on arrows intended for serious use.

Bow-case, Quiver, and Tool Bag

411 The bow-case (Figure 157), which was made of sealskin to keep out water,
415 was shaped to the form of the weapon; one end was closed, the other left open
281 for some distance down its curved edge to permit the insertion of the bow. To close the opening when the bow was in place there was a short cord of plaited sinew whose loose end was tucked under the lashing, leaving the tip protruding so that it could be unfastened at a single jerk. A quiver with or without a cap was sewn or buttoned to the straight edge of the case; and a tool bag was also sewn to the case in such a way that the quiver, when carried on the back, lay on top of it and prevented its contents from falling out. Often, too, there was a sheath

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 128]

[1] Mathiassen found a little copper in the old Thule site at Neeyan, on the west coast of Hudson Bay (Reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition, vol. IV, pt. 1, pp. 14, 16 (Copenhagen, 1927)); and Graham Rowley discovered a small copper hook in a Dorset culture site near Igloolik, some 200 miles farther north. So far as we know today, this copper could have come only from the Coronation Gulf region.

[113] [2] Stefansson, V.: Anth. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. XIV, figs. [illegible] ([illegible]).

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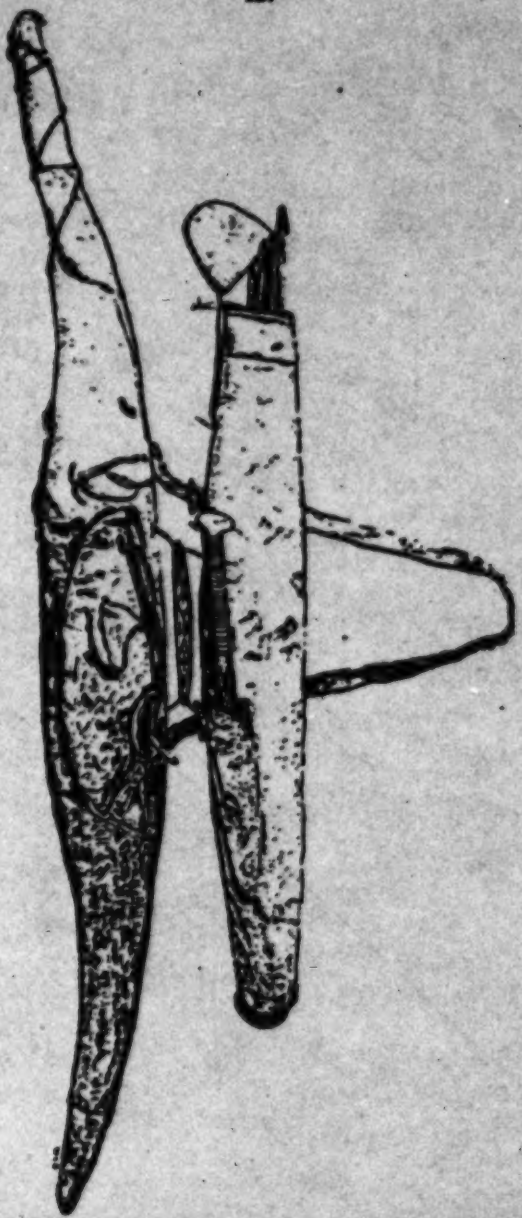


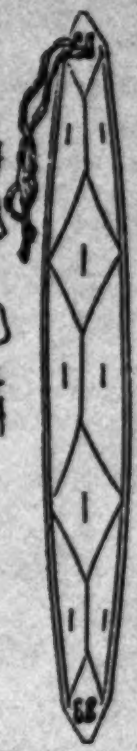
Figure 127. Bow-case, quiver, and tool bag. IV.D.1457. Approx. 1/12.

411 415 28 for the snow knife, which served also as a hunting knife, sewn to either bow-case or quiver. The carrying strap was attached by sewing or with toggles to the same edge of the bow-case as the quiver, so that the two would lie together; in fact, the ends of the strap often served to unite them.

41 Bow-case, quiver, and tool bag, when fully equipped, carried on their surfaces nearly a dozen bone toggles and needles whose forms and uses require some explanation. Other objects might be attached for temporary convenience, but they were not standard equipment.

411 414 [192] When the carrying strap, which passed across the chest and around the upper arms like the regular pack-strap, was not sewn directly to the bow-case, it buttoned to two toggles of the standardized shape, illustrated in Figure 160a. There was also a long, flat handle, *nerumiarvik*, lashed to the straight edge of the bow-case so that it could be carried in the hand. This handle varied in size according to the size and weight of the bow and quiver, its average length being about 8 inches; the shape never varied, however, except that the ends were sometimes pointed instead of rounded. The flat surface lent itself to ornamentation, and most bow-case handles were decorated with a more or less fixed design[1] (Figure 158).

[531] 414 224 A toggle similar to those for the carrying strap was occasionally sewn on the side of the bow-case for the attachment of a short board. I failed to procure any specimen of this board, but Figure 159 reproduces field sketches of two that I saw in actual use. Each was about 18 inches long, but one was made from one solid piece of wood, the other from two smaller boards lashed together. The toggle on the bow-case passed through the slot in the middle. In the hunting field the Eskimo planted two walking-sticks in the ground, fastened these boards to their ends, and stationed two children to twirl them, or to beat them with a stick, so that the frightened caribou would not break away from the line of the drive and escape the concealed hunters.[2] The board had two names, *kivyalun* and *aulaqotit*, "driving instrument".



[192] → Figure 158. Bone handle of bow-case. IV. D. 198. 1/2.

411 414 The quiver was sometimes sewn to the bow-case, sometimes attached by means of small toggles of varying shapes, one type being shown in Figure 160b. A similar toggle on the face of the bow-case buttoned over the handle of the snow knife to keep it from slipping out of its sheath.

[192] Somewhere on the outside of either quiver or bow-case were two small bone "wings", from 2 inches to 3 inches long, of standardized shape, for pinning through the wings of

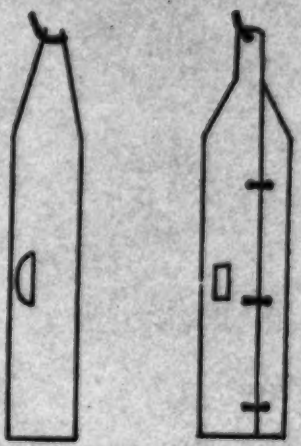


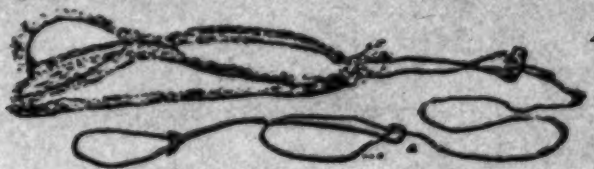
Figure 159. Field sketch of two boards used for frightening caribou. Approx. 1/8.

[113]

[1] The specimen figured in Sinclair, Anthropological Papers, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. XIV, pt. 1, p. 59, called a "pull for Cord used in hunting Seals", is a bow-case handle.

[2] See Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, fig. 40, p. 151.

492 traces 15 to 40 feet long that looped over the sled toggle and could all be
• [281] released simultaneously. The harness, shaped as in Figure 178a, was of skin, nearly always the leg skins of the caribou with the hair left on. The loops that passed around the dog's forelegs joined across the shoulders and again below the throat, usually by short yokes, to produce a loop for the head. Two strips of skin then ran backward from the neck yoke, and one from each leg loop ran upward, their ends coming together, in a properly fitted harness, just over the root of the tail, where they were lashed in pairs with rawhide and the rawhide
[321] fastened to a slot in the pin of the trace toggle. This trace toggle (Figure 178b), made of bone, antler, or musk-ox horn, invariably contained two parts, a pin knobbed in the rear and slotted in front, and a square plaque with one large round hole in the middle for the insertion of the pin, and a smaller hole in each of the four corners for the attachment of the trace. The pin turned freely in the plaque and kept the trace untwisted however often the dog rolled over and over on its back; and the knob at one end, the rawhide lashing at the other, held it securely in place.



[321] →

Figure 178. Dog harness. a, complete harness, IV.D.316, 1/16; b, bone swivel for the trace, IV.D.182, 3/4.

When not in use harnesses were commonly stored on the roofs of the snow-houses but in summer the dogs wore them continually, for the long traces served to hold on the back-packs, and, in camp, to attach the animals to stones. Often their hungry wearers tore them to shreds; or the harnesses broke and were
[281] patched together again. In one such emergency a woman devised a makeshift harness from a broad strip of sealskin; she slit it in three places, inserted the dog's head through the middle slit and a leg through each of the other two, tied the corners of the skin to the trace, and started the day's journey undismayed.

483 The harness worn by the Eskimo himself when hauling on the sled had a similar trace to the dog harness, and was hitched to the sled toggle in the same manner, but it consisted merely of a broad band of sealskin, less often caribou skin, that passed over the chest, and was lashed to the end of the trace without any intervening toggle (Figure 179). Women and children pulled in front of
492 the dogs, men behind. The Copper Eskimo did not use whips, but the men often
231 urged on their teams with walking-sticks. Most families had only from two to three dogs, none more than five, owing to the difficulty of feeding the animals.

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Figure 184. Bull-roarer. IV.D.682. Approx. 1/2.

Any wood that could be bent into a hoop served for the frame; actually the choice was limited to spruce and poplar, the preference being for poplar. Dehaired caribou skin formed the membrane; it was kept taut by a cord that ran in a groove around the rim. The handle was a piece of wood notched to fit the edge of the rim and secured by lashing; in no case that I observed was it riveted to the rim or embellished with any carving. The fore end of the drumstick, which was struck on the rim, was

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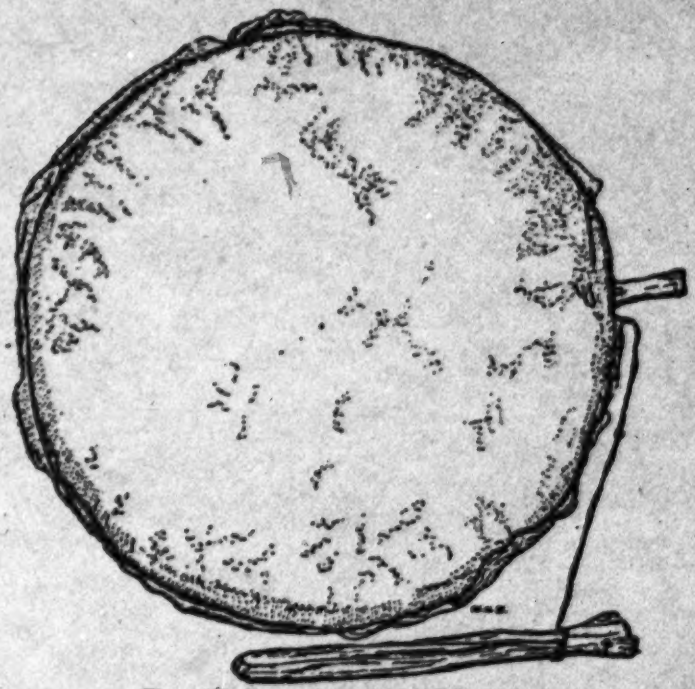

Figure 185. Drum and drumstick. IV.D.1644. 1/2.

usually covered with seal or caribou skin. The drum illustrated in Figure 185 has a maximum diameter of 18 inches. Detailed measurements of another drum are given in Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, page 222.

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

winter months; as soon as they left this place for the sealing-grounds they might sew no more until the sun returned at the end of January. The men brought in the pokes of blubber cached on Read Island six months before, and the carcasses of the caribou shot during the migration just ended; in idle moments they repaired their sealing weapons or helped their wives to scrape the caribou hides.

The monotony of this new life affected the children much more than the adults. Throughout the summer they had shared our hunting and fishing, packed their burdens like the rest of us, and played an active rôle in every enterprise. They had gained a status in those months far beyond their years. Now they were reduced to children again, helpless dependents whose principal duty was to carry messages from one hut to another. Their bows and arrows, which had secured us many a duck and ptarmigan, were useless now that the birds had flown, and their fishing-lines lay idle in the family dunnage-bags, buried away until another spring. Little wonder, then, that they chafed under the confinement and tedium of a sedentary life, where no new playmates, no dances, no visitors from other tribes, breathed fresh life into our humdrum circle. A strange irritability seemed to taint their merry, carefree natures, and they wept over trifles that a month before would have passed unheeded.

Icehouse told Jennie one morning to brush the snow